

Abraham S. Anspacher

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# Archeological Research in Bible Lands

BY

RABBI ABRAHAM S. ANSPACHER, PH. D.

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## ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN BIBLE LANDS.<sup>1</sup>

BY RABBI ABRAHAM S. ANSPACHER, PH.D., New York City.

The history of Archeological Research in Bible Lands reads like a romance. As a result of the labor of many scholars in this field of work, empires long dead have been recalled to life, the long-forgotten names and the records of once powerful races and peoples have been recovered, civilizations long since decayed have been emerged, as it were, from out of the ruin-heaps under which they were buried, and languages in which great literatures have been written, but which had faded from human memory, have been deciphered, until to-day we are in possession of many new chapters of world history. But the desire to increase the knowledge of the world history was never the primary motive toward archeological investigation in the Biblical Orient. From the beginning the chief interest was a religious one, and at the basis of all research was the inquiry, "How does any new find affect the history of Palestine," and secondly, "How does the history of Palestine affect Israel and Judaism?"

For a long time before actual systematic archeological work was begun, it was realized that the only road to new information was by the way of the excavation of the numerous Tells which dot the surface of the land all over the Biblical East. Old documents, inscribed stones, objects of archeological value could be obtained only by trenching through the ruins of ancient sites.

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<sup>1</sup> PREFATORY NOTE.—In assigning the following paper to the writer, the president of the Conference informed him that the Executive Committee wished to have a review of "Excavations in Bible Lands," so treated, that the results of the paper should as much as possible be constructive. He was to remember that it was to be written principally with the need of the Sabbath School teachers in mind. The expression of such a wish constituted, of course, a command, and accounts for the semi-popular character of the paper.

where the débris of the ages had so piled up, as to make an artificial hill. And the results where such digging has been intelligently done have been astonishing. In Palestine, in Assyria, in Babylonia, in Syria, inscriptions have been obtained, buildings have been exposed, records have been found which have shed welcome light on Bible history; while from Egypt information is forthcoming which enables us to read Scripture with fuller insight.

But the results from these different countries have been of varying magnitude. The net results of all Palestinian excavation thus far reported are very modest as compared with those, *f.i.*, in Assyria. Yet they fit in so well with what has been learned from other sources, and they supply certain gaps in so complete a way, that it is a pity that work in the Holy Land is not carried on more consistently. Previous to the publication of the Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian yields, the world had completely lost the memory of great Empires, and the names of mighty deities had perished together with their votaries. The recovery was dazzling. This cannot become true of Palestine. It is little to be expected that Palestinian Excavations will yield us knowledge of any god, people or language concerning which the Bible has not preserved at least some notice, however obscure. More than this, Palestine will not, in all probability, produce as many and as complete records as we got from the ruins in other Biblical lands, since the materials used for writing were of a readily perishable nature. Paper and papyrus and the soft limestone of the Holy Land are not as durable as the clay tablets and the black basalt rock of Babylonia and Assyria, and the climate being damp, unlike that of Egypt which acts as a preserver of ruins, tends rather to disintegrate still existing antiques. Therefore Palestinian results are meager as compared with those of other lands, yet absolutely, they are illuminating and furnish welcome aid in the clearing up of obscure points.

## I.

The work of excavation in Palestine has not been extensive, and has for the most part been planned under the auspices of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, an English organization founded



in 1865. This society has completed a very accurate ordinance survey of the Holy Land, and the able directors whom it has sent into the field have done creditable work. Wilson, Warren, Bliss and Dickie have accomplished what little the conditions would allow at Jerusalem: at Tell-El-Hesi, the ancient Lachish, Petrie and Bliss have uncovered the strata of eight superimposed city levels. Bliss and McAllister have uncovered Gath, and the latter has had exceptionally good fortune in the excavation of the site of Gezer. Prof. Sellin has excavated at Jericho and at Tell Ta 'annek, the ancient Ta 'annach, while in Galilee, the German Orient Society has done some work. In 1908, under the direction of Schumacher, the work of clearing away the hill of Samaria was begun. This was continued for three years under the auspices of Harvard University, George Reisner directing operations in 1910 and 1911.

The excavations made at Gezer and Lachish reveal a history stretching back to about 3000 B.C.E., and in the case of the former, at least, carry us back to the Horites who are mentioned in Gen. xiv. 6; xxxvi. 20; Deut. ii. 12 and 22, and who from the supposed meaning of their name have been called Cave Dwellers. The Biblical notices concerning them are so indefinite as to justify the conclusion that the writer knew them only from a vague tradition. They are now known to have been non-Semitic, from the significant facts that they used swine in their sacrificial cult and that they cremated their dead. With the levels above the lowest at Gezer we meet the strata of débris which bring us to the pre-Israelite, Canaanite civilization of the Holy Land; and at this point excavation in Palestine attains its real and startling interest for us. At about 2500 B.C.E., the Amorites were at the zenith of their power. In the early Babylonian inscriptions Palestine is called, "*Mât Amurru*," and the Babylonian dynasty, dominant in Abraham's day, hailed, in all probability, from Palestine. At Lachish, the Amorite level takes us to about the year 1700, and we know that when Joshua (chap. x. 3-5), entered the land, the Amorites were still very powerful. Their history, gathered from all the available sources, pictures a people whose sway extended from the Mediterranean Sea to Babylonia, although toward the end of their career they were

probably restricted to the neighborhood of the lower Orontes. We hear of them in Numbers (chap. xxxiv.), where their king Og is said to have ruled over thirty strong cities, and Sihon, also an Amorite, had conquered Moab. At one time they possessed the land west of Jordan and certainly had a hand in the establishment of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> In the Tell El Amarna letters, the king of the Amorites is Abdi-ashratu, and he and his son after him were able to wrest Phœnicia from the Pharaoh. The Amorites were still vigorous when Joshua defeated a coalition of five of their kings, and how he left the city of Lachish is still to be seen. In excavating Tell-El-Hesi a bed of ashes was found between the Amorite and the first Israelitish levels. As now, so in early days, the wandering Bedawi burned plants to obtain alkali, and this was only done on uninhabited ground. After Joshua came the period of anarchy under the Judges and before Lachish could be rebuilt during the more peaceful times of the monarchy, wandering desert tribes had often burned plants on its Amorite ruins.

The successor to the Amorite power in Palestine was the Hittite, as is already proven by the fact that just as the early Babylonian inscriptions called the country "*mât Amurru*," so later Assyrian records know it only as "*mât Hatti*." The Hittites, however, must have been in Palestine from very ancient times, and were already a factor of influence in Abraham's day. Already in the Amorite levels of Lachish and Gezer a kind of pottery was found which is characteristic of Hittite culture, and which is found from southern Palestine clear into northern Cappadocia.<sup>2</sup> We thus get an idea of the extensive reach of Hittite influence in Asia. Our knowledge of this people is obtained from four Extra-Biblical sources, viz., the Tell-El-Amarna Letters, the Egyptian monuments, the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, and the extensive notices recovered from Boghaz-Köi by Winckler in 1906-7. Besides this we possess many Hittite inscriptions, but as yet no one has been able to decipher them. The glimpse we get from the decipherable sources is illuminat-

<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel, xvi 3,45, repeats no vain tradition when he says of Jerusalem, "Your mother was Hittite and your father Amorite."

<sup>2</sup> v. Juhl, Anthropological Inst., 1903, p. 367 ff., Myers.

ing. Already from the Tell-El-Armana Correspondence we realized that the Hittites were a great people, and what the Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian sources added to this knowledge was fully confirmatory. The Boghaz-Köi inscriptions completed the picture and showed us an astonishing cultural unity of all Asia Minor and Egypt. Now for the first time it is possible to conceive to how noble a stage of civilization the Biblical Orient had attained. All previous notions as to the low condition of peoples with whom Israel came into contact after the Exodus have been antiquated, and now we have to realize that if Israel under Moses and Joshua had a mission to perform, its task was not rendered easy in that it had to be worked out in a simple, ignorant environment, among peoples without ideas and ideals. The Hittites were the most powerful of these peoples and we are to remember that the name denotes, in the first place, a racial group; for there were four distinct Hittite kingdoms. The name Hittite was used only for that kingdom south and east of the Taurus; besides this, however, there were the Hittite kingdoms of the Kassians, with its capitol at Boghaz-Köi, the Mitanni in Mesopotamia, with their capitol at Karkamesh, and the Naharaim on upper Orontes. These four united to form one great power, with its seat of government at Qadesh. They became, in time, overlords of all Palestine and Syria and held sway to the confines of Assyria. Against this latter country they had to contend, and although finally subdued in the conflict, they succumbed only after having been compelled to wage long war with Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

From the Nile monuments we gather the outline of this struggle.<sup>4</sup> In 1470, Tothmes III., then in his thirty-third regnal year, made an expedition into Mesopotamia and on his homeward march exacted tribute from the Hittites, *i. e.*, from Naharaim. In 1380, Tarkhundara, king of Boghaz-Köi, sends tribute to Amenhotep III; but already in this Pharaoh's time the trouble with the Hittites of the north began, and by 1375 they

<sup>3</sup> Winckler: Smithsonian Report for 1908, p. 682 ff.

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Breasted: Ancient Records of Egypt, Vols. I-V *passim*.

had come south as far as Laodicea. Under Seti I (1326-1300) the conflict culminates in the battle of Qadesh, near Beirut, resulting in a treaty, as between equals in power and influence. The text of this document is preserved for us both in the Egyptian and the Boghaz-Köi texts,<sup>5</sup> and evidences the might of the Hittites. Yet this battle marks the zenith of their power, for we have a notice from Merenptah (1234-1214) to the effect, "the Cheta is quiet," *i.e.*, the Hittites are subdued. Indeed, the Hittites had to be "quiet," for in their rear the Assyrian had by this time become very aggressive.

The information thus gathered is, however, secondary to that gleaned from a philological examination of the Boghaz-Köi texts, and the Tell-El-Amarna Tablets. Two letters of the latter collection are in a different language from the rest. One has become known as the Mitanni, that is, the language of the kingdom whose capitol was at Karkames and the other as the Arzawa, the language of the Boghaz-Köi texts. The people of both these countries were in Palestine at the time of the Amarna correspondence, *i.e.*, just before the Exodus, and could their racial origins be determined, a great advance in our knowledge of the pre-Israelite population of Palestine would result. It has, I believe, been proven<sup>6</sup> that the Mitanni language was a branch of the Caucasian family, and the Arzawa is claimed for the Indo-European group.<sup>7</sup> This would mean that the population of pre-Israelite Palestine contained an appreciable Indo-European element, a statement which appears to be substantiated by the fact that in the Boghaz-Köi inscriptions we meet with an Aryan people called the *Haru*. If these can be identified with the הררם<sup>8</sup> of the Pentateuch we could understand how a swine-offering and cremation-practicing people came to reside at Gezer.

We have, then, a fairly complete picture of the pre-Israelite occupants of Palestine. Excavations in the Holy Land have revealed much concerning their mode of living. A detailed description of the finds uncovered at the various sites would

<sup>5</sup> Wm. Miller: *MVAG.*, 1902, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Bork: *Die Mitanni-Sprache*, in *MVAG.*, 1901, 12.

<sup>7</sup> Knudtzon: *Die Zwei Arzawa Briefen*.

<sup>8</sup> Haru is the Egyptian name for Palestine.

have to deal with the Asheras, the cemeteries, the methods of burial, the pottery, the flora and fauna, and an examination of skeletons. Indeed, all this has been thoroughly done, and always the search for written documents has been diligently pursued. Only a very few inscriptions, however, have been found, a significant exception being a cuneiform tablet at Lachish, containing a name mentioned in the Tell-El-Armarna Letters. The result of the work in Palestine has been to enlarge our knowledge of the Canaanite inhabitants, but we do not glean much for the period subsequent to Joshua's entry. At Megiddo, it is true, a seal was found bearing the name of King Jereboam, and at Samaria the palace of Ahab was uncovered and a number of ostraca with (tax) records were found, written in a durable ink. In the main what we gain from excavation in Palestine is rather a total impression of pre-Israelite culture than a collection of detailed facts. The summary may be thus stated:

1. From 2500-1700 native Palestinian culture was Amorite and Hittite, and differed from the culture of Babylonia and Assyria.

2. About 1200 traces of Israelite culture begin to appear, although there are still traces of Egyptian, though not of Babylonian occupation.

3. A careful examination of all the evidence allows us to say that the religion of Palestine was highly materialistic. The picture presented by the books of Joshua and Judges finds ample confirmation as result of the excavations.

## II.

If, as has been shown, Palestine yields only few inscriptions, the same is happily not true of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria. In the case of Egypt the aid we get is for the period before the monarchy, rather indirect, and for the subsequent period not as ample as in the case of the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, but what we have is very illuminating. We call it indirect for the following reasons:

1. Long before Egypt controlled Palestine, Babylon was

dominant in the Holy Land and exercised a cultural influence which endured for centuries.<sup>9</sup>

2. Egyptian control of Palestine was at best intermittent, never becoming really organic.

3. The Hebrew had traditional and racial elements in common with the Babylonian and Assyrian, but certainly not with the Egyptian.<sup>10</sup>

The first mention of Egypt, in the Bible, occurs in Genesis xii. 10, where Abraham journeys thither to find sustenance for his cattle. The authenticity of this passage has often been questioned,<sup>11</sup> and we may begin at this point to mention some of the indirect confirmations of Scripture from the Egyptian monuments.

On the tomb of the Monarch Hnumenhetep at Beni-hassan, during the reign of Usertersen II (12th dynasty), we have a picture of the entrance of a large Semitic family of thirty-seven persons into Egypt. They were received by the district master of the hunt, and by him conducted to the monarch, who in all probability, after registering their names, number, occupation and the purpose of their journey, assigned to them a temporary place of residence. This was assuredly no isolated instance of the fact that Semitic families sought limited residence in Egypt, and why need Abraham's visit be denied authenticity? Indeed, the Egyptian inscriptions furnish an analogue even to the story of Sarah. A papyrus, called "The Two Brothers," tells of a Pharaoh who did not hesitate to murder the husband of a beautiful woman whom he coveted. An examination of the records prove that at this early period intercourse between

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<sup>9</sup>Lugalzaggizi at the end of the fourth millennium ruled over an empire extending from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. It must, however, be admitted that the Palestinian Excavations prove Egyptian influence as early as the twelfth dynasty (2000-1800) and there are traces as late as C. 1300.

<sup>10</sup>The attempt to prove ethnological connection between Hebrew and Egyptian on the hypothesis that the civilization of the west originated in Babylon has been refuted G. Eliot Smith: "The Ancient Egyptians and Their Influence Upon the Civilization of Europe."

<sup>11</sup>Winckler: *Altorientalische Forsch.* Erste Reihe, 1897, p. 33.

Asia and Egypt was frequent.<sup>12</sup> The more so since the Egyptians, who were only indifferent soldiers, made extensive use of Asiatic mercenaries. Gunkel (*Genesis*, 1901, p. 156) is positive that Abraham's journey into Egypt is mythical, because neither the name nor the capital of the Pharaoh is recorded. The contention is vain. The Bible, in referring to the Egyptian kings, sometimes does, and again does not specify the particular Pharaoh.<sup>13</sup> Except in official records no Egyptian text up to the 22d dynasty (c. 950) gives the specific name of the Pharaoh with which it deals.<sup>14</sup>

The authenticity of the Joseph story has also been denied for the same reason. Fortunately the historical setting of the account has been so far recovered from the monuments as to make future denial rather hazardous.

When Joseph arrived in Egypt he did not enter the land as a total stranger. The Hyksos kings, who ruled from c. 2100 to c. 1585, were Semites whose influence must have been visible on every hand. According to Manetho they ruled over Egypt for 511 years. Of their number, Apophis is named by Josephus as the Pharaoh who made Joseph his prime minister. When summarized, the monumental references present the following outline. After a long rule the Hyksos were finally forced to combat a formidable rebellion headed by the king of Thebais. After a bitter struggle they were shut up in Avaris, and after withstanding a long siege were allowed to depart into Syria, where they established a new kingdom. Some years later the Egyptian kings hounded them through the length and breadth of Palestine and Syria, and finally, as we learn from the Tell-el Amarna letters, subjected them to Egyptian rule. That the records furnish no account of the Joseph story<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Muller: *Asien und Europa*, p. 4 f.

<sup>13</sup> I Kings xxiii. 29; Jer. xlv. 30, and xlv. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Griffith: *PSBA*. 23, 1906, p. 72 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Jeremias: *Das Alte Testament in Lichte des alten Orient*, 1904, p. 245 f., reminds us that Janhamu, of the Amarna letters (v. Conder, *The Tell Amarna Tablets*, p. 63, and all through the Phœnician correspondence), has been identified with Joseph. The identification is plausible because—1. The name is Semitic. 2. The district, Jarmuta, over which he rules, was the granary of the surrounding countries. His territory

is not to be wondered at, for like his master he was a hated foreigner, whose monuments were destroyed. Despite their long rule the Hyksos remained distinct from their Egyptian subjects, and when we are told of Joseph's marriage to the daughter of the priest of On<sup>16</sup> we have no record of an intermarriage, for the Hyksos introduced their own religion into Egypt. At Bubastis, Memphis and Tanis we find Hyksos relics, and everywhere proof that they remained a separate people. The whole Joseph story is true to Egyptian life. Thus shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians<sup>17</sup> and Jacob and his sons could reveal their true occupation because they were favored by a Pharaoh who was Semitic, not Egyptian. On the monuments we find the titles of the royal baker and the royal cup-bearer, and are told that Pharaoh's birthday was an occasion for general amnesty.<sup>18</sup> That Joseph had to shave and change his garments before his audience with the king<sup>19</sup> is in accord with Egyptian custom, and the fact that an Egyptian would not eat with a Hebrew<sup>20</sup> is also attested. Furthermore, the names Joseph-El and Jacob-El, found in the inscriptions of Thothmes III. (1500), are not necessarily tribal names. We have ample evidence that these were common personal names in the Biblical East;<sup>21</sup> and it may be remarked in passing that the same is true of the names Abraham and Sarah.<sup>22</sup>

Of course our greatest interest in the Egyptian monuments centers about any possible reference to the Exodus. For a

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had to be traversed en route from Gebal (Byblos) to Chut-Aten, the capital of Pharaoh Chu-en-Aten, so that it was in the Nile delta, perhaps identical with Goshen. 3. He was the distributor of corn from Pharaoh's granaries. 4. His influence with Pharaoh was great. 5. Joseph was the son-in-law of the priest of On, which city was the center of the monotheistic cult of the sun god Ra. For forcing this cult upon Egypt, Chu-en-Aten became known as the heretical Pharaoh.

<sup>16</sup> Gen. xli. 45.

<sup>17</sup> Gen. xlvi. 34.

<sup>18</sup> Ebers: *Ägypten*, n. d. Bücher Moses, p. 335 f.

<sup>19</sup> Gen. xli. 14.

<sup>20</sup> Gen. xliii. 32.

<sup>21</sup> Johns: *Deeds and Documents*, III, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> Bezold: *Catalogue*, I, p. 250.



long time it was a matter of keen regret that no mention of the name Israel was found in the inscriptions. It should have been remembered that to the native Egyptian the Israelite was a hated foreigner, and that the Children of Israel formed only a very small part of the Bedouin tribes who found a home near the Delta. At any rate, in 1896, Petrie found the so-called Merenptah Stele, and here we read. . . . "Kheta is in peace: Captive is Canaan and full of misery. Askelon is carried away. Gezer is taken. Yennumma is non-existent. Israel is lost, his seed is not. Syria is like the widow of Egypt. All lands are at peace, for whoever rebelled was chastised by Pharaoh Merenptah."

This Merenptah is commonly supposed to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and his predecessor, Rameses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression. Pinches,<sup>23</sup> however, is inclined to accept the following opinion of Dr. Mahler. . . . According to Josephus, Apophis was the king who knew not Joseph: he was the founder of the 19th dynasty and came to the throne two years after Joseph died. On astronomical grounds Rameses II. is calculated to have ascended the throne in 1347 and the Exodus to have taken place in 1335, the thirteenth year of his reign. In that event Talmudic tradition (Sabbath, 87b), which makes the 15th of Nisan of the Exodus fall on a Thursday, would be correct. An interesting corollary follows. If 1335 was the year of the Exodus, then Moses was born in 1415, *i.e.*, during the reign of Amenhotep III. From the Amarna tablets we know that this prince married an Asiatic princess, and it would occasion small wonder that the daughter of a Semite should rescue the child of a Hebrew woman.

The route taken by the Children of Israel cannot be positively determined, and we need not linger over the various theories propounded. But Goshen has been excavated, and both Pithom and Raamses laid bare. The civil name of the former was Thuket—Hebrew כְּבוֹת—and the latter was a series of granaries. Attention has been called<sup>24</sup> to the deposit of ashes

<sup>23</sup> Pinches: The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylon, p. 306.

<sup>24</sup> Duncan: The Exploration of Egypt and the Old Testament, p. 174.

around the city, on the level of the 19th dynasty and to the fact that the Israelites were tent-dwellers whose last days in Egypt were spent in encampment around the outer walls of this city.

It would be easy to multiply examples of how the Egyptian records illustrate the Bible, but our time is limited. Only one further example must suffice. Jeremiah chap. xliii. records the prophet's flight to Egypt. "Then came the word of the Lord to Jeremiah in Taphanhes, saying, "Take great stones in thine hand, and lay them with mortar in the brick work, which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Taphanhes. . . ." In 1886, Petrie excavating at Daphne,<sup>25</sup> which is of course the biblical Taphanhes, found this platform of bricks, and under it the great stones hidden there by the prophet.

Before leaving the account of Egyptian archeological results, we must not fail to mention the latest find which sheds light upon Biblical History. Only this time the documents with which we have to deal are not in Egyptian script. In 1906, Sayre and Cowley published the so-called Elephantine Papyri. These are a group of documents found in 1904 at Assuan, opposite Elephantine on the Nile.<sup>26</sup> The language is Aramaic, the documents date from the time of the Persian overlordship of Asia, being dated according to the regnal years of the Persian kings of the fifth century. They deal both with the private and the official affairs of the Jewish colony at Elephantine and throw very welcome light upon the books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles. It would be highly instructive to examine these papyri in detail,<sup>27</sup> but we content ourselves with the statement that by means of these independent sources the reliability of the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah is made positive. In 1896, Edward Meyer<sup>28</sup> had vigorously contended against the Higher Critics that the

<sup>25</sup> The name of the mound is "The Palace of the Jew's Daughter."

<sup>26</sup> Aramäische Papyrus u. Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär Kolonie zu Elephantine. Sachau., Leipzig, 1911.

<sup>27</sup> For discussion of the documents v. Margolis in Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. II, No. 8, January, 1912.

<sup>28</sup> Entstehung d. Judenthums. See also his, Der Papyrus fund von Elephantine, Leipzig, 1912.

documents preserved in Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah must be considered authentic since they are in general accord with what we know of Persian institutions and history. The publication of the Elephantine Papyri has fully substantiated this contention and proves that in style and language and form the similarity is heightened into identity.

### III.

We may now pass on to a review of archeological results from Babylonia and Assyria. Here the inscriptions<sup>29</sup> which bear upon Biblical dates are numerous and direct. We have space for only a brief review of a few examples. Let us begin with Genesis, Chap. X.:

To have historical worth this chapter should supply us with sufficient data to construct a map of the period in question. That it fails in this requisite is the verdict of the Critics. They insist that Palestine played no important rôle in early world history and that no early Israelite sources could possibly give accurate accounts of the principal peoples of the time. A careful review of the monuments shows that the countries along the Mediterranean were in close intercommunication at the dawn of history. The chapter is geographical, not ethnological, as a consideration of the names it records will prove. Some of the identifications are yet in doubt, more are certain, and all of them are in line with the Assyrian geographical notices.

We have to deal with three general geographical divisions: those of the north, the central, and the south, *i.e.*, Japheth, Ham and Shem. If in a few instances these divisions seem to lack sharp outline it is because at the time of writing, one division had made conquering inroads upon the other.

"The sons of Japheth, Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan and Tubal and Meshech and Tiras," etc. (v. 2). Gomer—the first of these names is identical with the Gimirrai of the Assyrian records. They are first mentioned by Esarhaddon (681-667)<sup>30</sup> who checked their raid into Asia. They invaded Urartu

<sup>29</sup> A complete collection, in Rogers' *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, Leipzig and New York, 1912.

<sup>30</sup> Cylinder II, 5-9.

(Van) and would have overrun Assyria but for Esarhaddon's success, who with help of his son-in-law, king of Asguzaai, *i.e.*, the Ashkenaz of this chapter, fought them off. Subsequently they overcame Gugn, *i.e.*, the Biblical Gog, King of Lydia, and thereby became powerful in Asia Minor. Magog is Lydia, and etymologically means "the land of Gog," the particle MA being a contraction of Assyrian *mât*—country. From the monuments we can locate Lydia or Magog to the west of Meshech and Tubal; these two had been for centuries a stumbling-block to Assyrian expansion and now the three kingdoms, acting in concert, menace Assyria's existence. Ezekiel (xxxviii. 2, 3) calls Gog prince ( גוג ) of Magog, Tubal and Meshech and so verifies what we know of this alliance from the monuments.

Madai is Media. Javan, which is mentioned after Madai, is Greece. We first meet the name in the Amarna letters where it is written Yavâna, an exact transliteration of the Hebrew word. Thus, we have, for the northern tier of countries which according to this chapter were in contact with Palestine, from west to east, Ionia in Asia Minor, including Cyprus, Lydia, Tabal, Muski, Gomer and Media. Verse four of the chapter enumerates the divisions of Javan, and so describes the map of the extreme north and west. Here the monuments warrant the following identifications. Elisa is Hellas, and Dodanum, which in I Chron. i. 7 is Rodanum, is Rhodes. Tarshish is the Tartessa of the Greeks, the country around Gibraltar. Kittim is the Cyprian Kition.

Coming now to the southern division we can again construct the map with the aid of the monuments. Verse six enumerates the sons of Ham beginning with Kush, which we now know to be the coasts of Arabia and Egypt northward from Bab-el-Mandab along the Red Sea. The southern division is concluded with Canaan, the coupling of which with Egypt indicates a knowledge of the Pharaoh's dominance in Palestine. The Arqa and Cinnarra of verses 16-17 we can locate with certainty.<sup>31</sup> Arvad is modern Ruad, and Hamath is well known.

Having thus a map of the northern and southern divisions our writer turns to the central zone,—the sons of Shem. His chief interest lies here, and he goes into detail. In so far as we

<sup>31</sup> *v. my Tiglath Pileser* 111, p. 45, and note 29.

can make identifications in verses 21 to end, the geographical scheme is in accord with the inscriptions. The description of the principal peoples is from east to west. Elam did finally succumb to Semitic influence, but the people that exercised this influence were the Babylonians. That we have no mention of them here is indeed a gap: they may, however, come under the name Arpachshad, which may include that part of the later Assyrian Empire known as Arrapha. Then Arpachshad would mean the country south and west of Media between Elam and Assyria, *i.e.*, Ashar. Lud, then, is Lubdi of the inscriptions, a country northwest of modern Mosul: Aram is Armenia, stretching north to Aleppo. Thus we get an outline map from this chapter, which shows the relation of the then known world to Palestine.

We pass on to Genesis xiv. Here the critics said positively: This story is fiction. Chedorlaomer was a myth. Amrophel, Arioch and Tidal were symbolic names, or, at best, vague reminiscences of folk-lore tales. How was it possible that Elamite power was felt in Palestine at so early a date? However, the monuments soon showed that the Elamites were aggressive in Palestine 1500 years prior to Abraham. Amrophel proves to be the great Hammurabi; Arioch is the Eri-aku, or more correctly, the Rim-Sin<sup>32</sup> of the tablets, the king of Larsa, and Tidal and Chedorlaomer are Tudhula and Kudurlahmal respectively.<sup>33</sup> The Tell-el-Armana Tablets come to our further aid here and give historical existence to the Melchizedek of this narrative.

From Genesis to Kings is a long jump: and yet if we are to cover the assigned ground it will be best to take the leap and select a few instances of how, in the period of the monarchy, the Bible and the Inscriptions are supplementary. It may, however, serve to emphasize the trustworthiness of the Biblical narrative if we interrupt ourselves long enough to insert here a confirmation of two notices in Joshua and Judges, and that from the Palestinian Excavations. At Ta'annach,<sup>34</sup> Sellin

<sup>32</sup> This king left us three inscriptions: it is interesting to note that these were found at Muigheir, *i.e.*, the Ur of Abraham.

<sup>33</sup> v. Pinches: *The Old Testament, etc.*, p. 222 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Eine Nachlese auf d. Tell Ta'annek in Palestine, p. 32.

found, in one of the ruined chambers, the body of a woman, whose silver and gold ornaments were very numerous, and of Babylonian pattern. There is no longer justification to doubt the account of Achan's plunder<sup>35</sup> or of the tribute voted by the people to Gideon.<sup>36</sup>

And now for a few examples from the Books of Kings. Many could be cited to prove that the compiler used his sources in an honest and trustworthy way.<sup>37</sup> II Kings xviii. 13. (Isa. xxxvi. 1 ff.). Here we are told that in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah the Assyrian Sennacherib took the fenced cities of Judah, and that in order to save himself Hezekiah sent messengers to Sennacherib, who was then at Lachish, saying, "I have offended: turn from me: that which thou puttest upon me will I bear." According to Sennacherib's version<sup>38</sup> the tribute which he exacted was 30 talents of gold, 800 tablets of silver, lapis lazuli, couches of ivory, precious wood, etc. As against this, II Kings xviii. 14 gives "300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold." Which is correct? Does Kings minimize or does the Assyrian record exaggerate? It will, I think, be realized that the Biblical figures are the right ones. The whole trend of the narrative in Kings is to emphasize the complete subjection of Hezekiah to Sennacherib, and the great deliverance of Jerusalem is made to stand out in bold relief by reason of the depth of Hezekiah's humiliation. Kings spares no details. Hezekiah gives as tribute "all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house." He even "cut off the gold from the doors of the Temple of the Lord." Evidently the stress is upon the greatness of the tax. Yet he says 300 talents as against the 800 of the inscriptions. Had it been 800, Kings would have stated it just because the greater the amount of the tribute the greater the degree of Judaean subjection. Verse 13 does not tell why the Assyrian king invaded the land.

<sup>35</sup> Josh. vii. 21.

<sup>36</sup> Judges ix. 24 ff.

<sup>37</sup> One or two errors on the part of the compiler are admitted: for instance, II Kings xvii. 3 should have Tiglath Pileser instead of Shalmaneser. v. Kittle, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, 1912, Vol. II, p. 485, note 5.

<sup>38</sup> Taylor Cylinder, Col. III, l. 34 ff.

The reason given by Sennacherib<sup>29</sup> (that Hezekiah would not do him homage) is pure excuse. Had there been a just reason Kings would have given it. From all we know of Assyrian royal policy, Palestine was ever a land to be conquered, for it was the high road into Egypt. Assyria always readily manufactured excuses to invade Palestine. The Assyrian account says that Sennacherib took Padi of Ekron out of Jerusalem and reinstated him on his throne. The impression created is that Hezekiah captured a vassal of Assyria and imprisoned him and Sennacherib attacked Judah for this act of aggression. In truth, the people of Ekron had deposed Padi and he had sought and obtained refuge in Jerusalem until such time as Assyria would help him to his own. If Hezekiah says, "I have offended" (verse 14), he speaks diplomatically. Col. III, 1, 21, 22, of the Assyrian inscription records a siege of Jerusalem. The Bible account omits such a record because, indeed, no siege occurred. The notice of one is the work of a sycophant scribe. On the other hand, verses 35-37 of II Kings xix, note a great Assyrian disaster. We find no account of this in the tablets and have again evidence of suppression on the part of the inscriptions. Royal Annals of Assyria were often composed to please the king's vanity, and so it is here. Indeed, according to the Bible, Hezekiah sends his tribute to Lachish. In the Assyrian account we are informed that the gifts were sent to Nineveh after Sennacherib's return thither. Thus the Assyrian annals gloss over a disastrous campaign with the record of the reception of tribute. Nowhere, so far as I recall, does a conquering Assyrian king allow his tributaries to delay their gifts until the king has returned home. He exacts cash payment in the capital of his conquered foe.

II Kings xiii. 3, 4, 5. Here Israel is subject to Hazael of Syria, but God sends a deliverer, although we are not told who the deliverer was. The Inscriptions come to our aid. The savior could not have been any one of the kings of the "sea-coast," *i.e.*, of Palestine or the Lebanon region for the following reasons: Shalmaneser II, in 854, made his first campaign against Syria and Palestine. All Syria up to Aleppo was already

<sup>29</sup> Col. III, 1. II ff.

under his rule. At Gargar, north of Hamath, the Assyrian encountered Ben-Hadad and his allies, "the twelve kings of the sea-coast." In all of his subsequent expeditions westward he fought these same twelve kings; except in 842 when Hazael has to face him alone, the allies having been previously overcome. No one of these kings, therefore, could have been the savior whose identity we are seeking. Hazael had retained his independence, and after Shalmaneser's return home the Syrian king attacks Israel. Meanwhile Shalmaneser's successor, Adad-Nirâri III, has ascended the throne, and this king, seeing that Hazael is engaged against Israel, follows Assyrian policy, attacks Syria from the rear and so becomes the "savior" of verse 5. He made three campaigns against Syria—806, 805, 797, laid Damascus under tribute and thus saved Israel.

## IV.

And so we might continue at length. But we hasten to the important question, "What is the result of all the archeological finds in Bible Lands for Bible studies?"<sup>40</sup> It cannot be necessary to go into an extended summary of details. To me, at least, it seems that the veracity of the Bible has been vindicated. We have neglected, in this paper, the philological side of the argument, but it can be shown that many of the "arguments" from style and literary analysis fail before the linguistic evidence of the monuments.<sup>41</sup> The Bible is a record worthy of belief.

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<sup>40</sup>The critics were wont to belittle the worth of the archeologic remains, and asked, "Why do we find no inscriptions on Palestinian soil?" Indeed, Prov. xxv. 1 tells us that Hezekiah had a regular staff of copyists, *i. e.*, a regular library. The answer is that Nebuchadnezzar probably carried these records to Babylon and deposited them in his own archives. We have many of his temple inscriptions but have not recovered his Annals.

<sup>41</sup>*v.* Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, 3d Ed., p. 491 ff. The monuments have robbed criticism of its criterion for dating the Bible books by the language used. Words which were supposedly of Greek or Persian origin were regarded as loan words which could have come to use only as a result of contact with Greece and Persia. Such contact was in all cases considered to have been late. A weight of the eighth pre-Christian century, found on the site of Samaria, bears in



This result should have been acknowledged immediately after the Amarna publications. The deciphering of these letters not only increased our knowledge of the status of civilization in Syria and Palestine in the pre-Exodus period, but completely overthrew many preconceived notions concerning it. It was immediately recognized that many biblical passages would have to be reinterpreted in the light of the newly discovered facts, and in a measure Bible students welcomed new information. But the new facts had to contend with an attitude which had become a fashion. Higher Criticism had created a prejudice little inclined to yield to facts. Interpretations invalidating, "critical" conclusions were cried down as "traditional." It never occurred to the adherents of the Higher Criticism that they had built a new traditionalism, orthodox in its stubbornness. A literal acceptance of difficult Bible passages was taboo. Even after the Amarna Tablets had validated the literal accuracy of many such passages, so strong was the fashion of "Criticism" that new truth had difficulty to gain a hearing.

Without a doubt Higher Criticism postulated a legitimate task. In line with general scientific inquiry, its self-imposed work was to aid in determining the origins of Hebrew History and culture. The critics said: "Civilization cannot precede the era of writing." Since no writing has been found as early as the time in which Bible chronology places Abraham, it follows that the patriarch's time can, as yet, yield no historical record. For Israel the period of writing was late; in fact, it was delayed until the contact with Egypt. Since this contact was not organic it follows that Hebrew history can begin only with the Judges.

Archeology tells a different story. Bliss, at Tell-el-Hesi,

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Phœnician characters the inscription: "one quarter of a quarter of a natsag." There the worth expressing the genetical relationship is  $\text{נצ}$ . According to the critics, canticles is late because of the use of  $\text{נצ}$  in chap. iii. 7. Quite the contrary is true. We now see that  $\text{נצ}$  was so used in Israel before the fall of Samaria. Where admittedly Greek words occur, no proof that the passages in question date from Grecian times obtains. Ample inscriptional materials exist to prove that contact between Hebrew and Greek was general before the time of the Exodus.

found a cuneiform tablet, which mentioned the Zimrida of the Amarna Letters, and we thus learn that writing was used in Palestine before the days of Moses, a fact sufficient in itself to invalidate "critical" assumptions. We can go farther. Not only in Egypt and the East but in so-called pre-historic Greece and in Crete, writing has been found dating back to about 2000 years before the Christian era, and on the Siniatic peninsula inscriptions which go back to about 1500 B.C., and which deal with every-day trivial matters, written by common laborers, have been unearthed. Israel alone is assumed to have remained without a script! It is unthinkable.

Biblical archeology has great advantage over the Higher Criticism in that it is objective. Biblical critics have, for instance, been justly accused of approaching their work with ineradicable Christological preconceptions: the charge is far less true of archeologists. Indeed, when archeological results are used in a highly imaginative subjective way it is by a Higher Critic who seeks to straddle two saddles. So we have the spectacle of a German-American scholar who is sure that Aryans were in Palestine, that the Phœnicians were an Aryan people; that Jesus had red hair; that *consequently* Jesus was Phœnician, hence Aryan!

The study of Biblical archeology is the corrective to the unquestioning unbelief concerning the historicity of the Bible. Why must Bible statements always be confirmed by independent sources before they can be trusted: why is it not considered a dependable record in itself? Why, for instance, could Homer be used to identify the Gomer of Genesis x, and why, from the beginning, was it not allowed that the Gomer of Genesis could serve to locate the Kinemerians of Homer? Why, even to-day, is it not recognized that much of the information of the inscriptions would be meaningless without the illuminating records of the Bible?<sup>42</sup>

Archeology will lead us back to a saner appreciation of the historical worth of the Bible record and serve to check the vagaries of the commentators whose chief weapons are subjective.

<sup>42</sup>As for instance in the case of the Western operations of Tiglath Pileser IV.











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